/87 cont./
291 sandals. Some old women still preserve rudiments of the ancient,
[[77]] pre-Colombian costume. Like the Čipaya, they twist a piece of
black material around their bodies, fasten it at the shoulders
with two needles, and pull in the waist with a belt (Pl. V, B
/see p. 25/). They have modernized this costume by stitching
the edge left unfinished in former times; thus they have a sort of
291 tunic or sari. The dark color of this dress and that of the belt,
531 which is an indispensable accessory to it, bear witness to the taste
of the Uro for material of a neutral or somber tone. Their shawls
are generally black or brown, and the fabrics originating in this
region are characterized by their uniform tone and by the
simplicity of the decorative motifs (Pl. V, C-D /see p. 25/).
296 Neither the material which I have seen made by the Uro
women, nor their weaving looms (Pl. III, C /see p. 23/) present
any details worth mentioning.

Social Organization and Religion

621 The information I gathered on their social organization is,
unfortunately, not very explicit. They are divided into clans,
[[614]] a list of which was dictated to me; these are: Titikana, Konko,
Kama, and Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities:
[[816]] anan-saya and mana-saya, the Uro names for which are ti ačai
and xanača. These may be translated by their Aymara equiva-
lent: "section above" and "section below." Authority at
622 Ancoaqui is exercised by the hilakata, who wear a necklace as
the insignia of their function. The Uro name for this office is
derived from the word which designates this ornament (xoraturčirčki:
693 "wearer of necklace"). They have a corregidor (čauk čapsti)
who resides at Jesus de Machaca (?).

771 Religion. In the course of my brief stay at Ancoaqui I
could only make /88/ some hasty observations on survivals of
paganism among the Uro Indians. They are as good and as bad

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

/121/

621 616 [77] Aymara and Kičua /Quechua/ communities recalls the nonexogamous moieties /in English/ or phratries of the North American tribes with which I would not dare, however, to liken them.

These two parts of the tribe, so clearly differentiated in space, have a very strong individuality. They constitute two [222] [892] practically independent units, without any other tie than the communal celebration of certain festivals and the recognition of a chief with poorly defined functions and, of recent creation, the corregidor.

621 616 578 [973] An antagonism exists between the two sections which is manifested in a violent form in the course of the great festivals celebrated by the tribe as a whole. Bloody fights then break out between the members of the two saya inflamed by alcohol. These squabbles are considered a necessary complement of the merry-making. [123] Battles between the two parts of Chipaya are so common that one Indian announced to me one day that he was glad of my presence in the village at carnival time for, he added, the two "moieties" would not dare to insult each other in front of strangers and so there should be no dramatic incidents to deplore. As the guest of one of the sections I never enjoyed the trust and sympathy in the other that the people of "my" section displayed toward me. Outside of festivals and assemblies called to discuss general tribal affairs the two saya ignore each other, and although their existences follow a parallel plan these are only rarely mingled.

621 616 [192] [195] When they are talking to a stranger the Čipaya designate the two divisions of their village by the Aymara names manan-saya and aran-saya, but in their language manan-saya is called tuanta and aran-saya, taxata. Now, these two words mean "east" and "west" (taxata is derived from the root tax: back) and simply indicate that these two sectors are oriented according to these two cardinal points. Several times when I was talking to them about 621 616 614 their social organization the Čipaya called these two sectors ayl'u manan-saya and ayl'u aran-saya. If we were to take our informants literally each section would constitute a clan. But I do

/121 cont./

62 not believe that taxata and tuanta are clans, at least they could
616 not have been in the beginning, or the Indians would not have
614 compared them with the Aymara saya, which each contain a large number of clans. Another consideration prevents me from accepting this comparison. The part of the village called tuanta actually includes an area known under the name of warta-ayl'u, southern clan, somewhat to the side of the rest of the agglomeration. The inhabitants of warta ayl'u participate in the festivals and solemnities of the saya tuanta and are under its alcalde. Their individuality
[368] is only revealed in their tendency to stay together and, a significant detail, by the presence of a special chapel in the middle of their huts. Each saya, in fact, has its own chapel where it celebrates its /122/ ceremonies, the church located in the middle of the neutral zone being used only in the course of solemn festivals which bring together the whole tribe. No doubt we are dealing here with an ancient clan which has survived whereas, in the other saya, clan and "moiety" have merged.

342 Outside of the public buildings such as the chapels and the
343 prison, the village is made up of dwelling houses with their immediate annexes: storehouses and small enclosures. The detailed description of the hut will be the subject of a special chapter. Right now it is enough to mention that the dwelling houses as well as those which serve as storehouses are cylindrical in form and are made of superimposed clods of earth crowned with a straw, dome-shaped roof (Pl. VI, B /see p. 30 /). In places the huts are
361 grouped at random, but in a general way they are laid out in long,
[363] more or less parallel rows, with the spaces between them corresponding to streets. As all the houses open on the east, each row of houses faces a different street.

351 The huts belonging to a single household or to the same family are joined by small walls which form little enclosures used as woodhouses or poultry houses. A very low wall separates huts so joined from the next ones. The ground marked off in this
[171] manner is comparable with the "patio" of Aymara houses and is
[176] placed under the protection of a spirit, the patio mal'ku.

/124 cont./

Social Organization

627 [616] Exercise of authority. Each saya is under the authority of an alcalde who exercises the functions of a justice of the peace. He intervenes in disputes, arrests and imprisons the guilty, and receives accusations. As we have just seen, the alcaldes preside at the division of arable land and are in addition responsible for directing work done in common, such as the upkeep of canals or the repairing of roads.

692 The corregidor represents the tribe before the government. The one for Chipaya, my friend Paulino Kondori, was so little convinced of the legitimacy of his office, very recently created, that he accompanied me on my return to be presented to the prefect of the department and to obtain from him permission to consider the territory of Chipaya an administrative district independent of Huachacalla. By one of those curious inconsistencies of the Indian character, he did not wait for me at Oruro, where he had preceded me, and I was not able to support his efforts to bring this administrative revolution to a successful conclusion. As long as his title has not been recognized by the government, the corregidor of Chipaya will continue to be subordinate to the one at Huachacalla. During my stay I had the chance to read the letters which his superior sent him and which were often conceived in a comminatory tone. I remember that once he was ordered to have his alcaldes arrest a recalcitrant debtor and another time to conduct to Huachacalla an Indian suspected, mistakenly moreover, of murder.

Paulino Kondori appeared to have some judiciary functions, for the Čipaya made allusion before me to "demandas," i.e. complaints which had been presented to him by Indians who had been injured or believed themselves to have been. It was to him that the Čipaya came to impart their misgivings about my unusual activities and my mysterious investigations. I was lodged in his [123] [345] own hut, which instead of being round like the others had a rectangular plan and a two-pitch roof. This form, seen in two or three

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/125 cont./

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The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village; thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Losa in the other part of Tuanta; and the

[177]

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varači, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kopa, and Ilaka in the saya Taxata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village; thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Taxata. The Vilka overlap in Taxata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čino households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čino households in Warta.

● 616 My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence [551] of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Taxata section, but in

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/126 cont./

616 [551] Taxata, in contrast, although there are numerous Tuanta wives, the greatest number of households are made up of individuals from the same section but with different names. I was able to establish that in a few cases within the same section a husband and wife had the same name. Since on these two occasions it was a question of patronymics without equivalents in another sector, one may conclude that the spouses were somehow related to each other; I do not know how.

591 [611] Filiation is rigorously paternal. The wife during her first year of marriage lives with her husband's parents. After one or two children are born the couple builds a hut for themselves beside that of the husband's parents. This rule is not absolute for there 428 are huts belonging to households without children. I gathered some information on inheritance law that is unfortunately vague and of which the accuracy is suspect. In case of the husband's death, if the wife has no children her husband's property passes into the hands of her father (he becomes custodian of it?). If she has a [556] child her husband's possessions are left to her, and in a case where the child is still small, "another family" takes care of the sheep, i.e. of the pre-eminent part of a Čipaya's fortune. One Čipaya man told me that, orphaned at an early age, he was raised by a woman of his "moiety." His father's flock passed into the hands of his brother, who gave him his share when he was old enough to go himself to herd his sheep.

Kinship terms.

601 Although the nomenclature of the kinship terms teaches us nothing /127/ about the former organization of the Čipaya, I am recording them in any case to relieve my conscience:

grandfather	mastñil'a, čaukal'a
grandmother	mā-tíl'a
father	hep
mother	mā
father's brother (oldest)	čax-hep
father's brother (second)	taipir-tata

/329 cont./

*1098 there is generally a small oratory or altar with a niche, where the
782 Indians place coca leaves, incense, and various offerings. I noticed an artificial mound a certain distance from these sanctuaries, where the sacrificed animals are prepared for the feast which closes every Čipaya festival. A few clumps of earth piled a short distance from the platform serves as a censer, and during the entire duration of the ceremony the Indians burn khoa there, a resinous plant which gives off a strong and rather agreeable odor.

*1098 In the mind of the Čipaya these cones of earth are "statues" representing divine personages, demons. It was thus that they were designated to me when I heard about them for the first time. "These are," the interpreter translated, "bultos a manera de hombres
[552] /busts in the form of men/." In fact, each of these cones has a name (Čunkirini, Korisančuri, Kemperani, Kant, Kilimint, Kusil'er, Kusil'awari, Estewan, Waxma, etc.), and if the majority of these names are Čipaya or Aymara, the most revered cone of
[190] the saya tuanta is called Estewan, or Stephen (1). When I asked the
[196]

1. I am tempted to see in the Kiliment (o) mal'ku a demon whose Spanish name, Clemento, has been indianized.

recognized officiant of the saya tuanta about the nature and attributes of the divine beings materialized in these cones of earth, he replied to me that they were spirits who crossed the puna disguised as white men dressed in a tunic (ira) of the same color, and with a large hat on their heads. If one accosts them they disappear.

[216] Each saya has its own mal'ku near which it acquits itself, i.e.,
[621] makes an annual sacrifice to them in turn. Only one exists, (the
[982] Kemperani mal'ku) constructed at the boundary of the sayas, which is worshiped by the whole tribe.

*1098 These constructions correspond in every respect to the famous
104 waka (huaca) which the Spanish inquisitors had so much trouble

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/362 cont./

*798 *796 [539]

Hasiki	suma	l'autita	suma	kumpltita	hasiki
Now	well	shut	well	acquitted	now

katokta	suma	katoktakiya.
you have received	well	you have received.

/363/ "Now you have been well shut in, we have acquitted ourselves well toward you. Now you have received offerings, you have received well of them."

Little by little the group dispersed. Each, before going away, approached the site of the cellar, knelt, and said a short prayer, at the end of which he touched the mound with his hand, which he brought to his lips. The alferez' wife epitomized the gesture by kissing the ground. I heard them murmur while getting up, "Verxina-mai'ku lisinta" — "Holy Virgin, with thy permission." Some couples, before leaving the area, went to salute the alferez and his wife in the customary fashion.

The latter, moreover, did not seem to consider the merry-making ended, and it was with flags flying, dancing and drinking, that the most enthusiastic returned, forming a procession which disappeared toward the "water houses."

● [616] On the same day the saya taxata held a similar festival on its territory.

*798 *796 594 [616] Second day (January 21). On the preceding day only a part of the meat of the sacrificed victims had been eaten on the spot. The rest was served in the course of a feast which the alferez offered to the members of his saya the day after the festival. The ceremony which I will describe took place at Taxata.

[554] The alferez' two white banners were planted before the door of his hut toward noon. The members of the saya had gathered near the threshold, men on one side and women on the other, waiting for the food (Pl. XII, B /see p. 133/). It was served to them as on the day before, on blankets spread on the ground. The menu was, moreover, substantially the same, but completed

*798 *796 594 262

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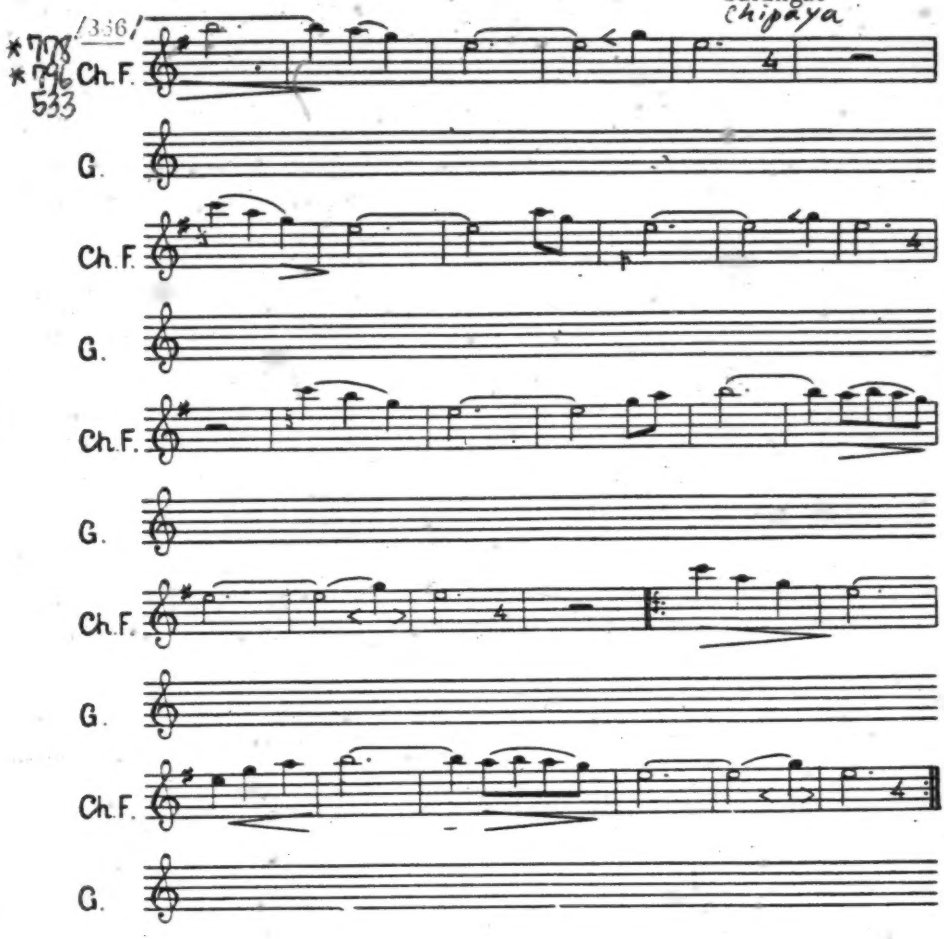
*796
●[616]

Festival of the Saya Taxata (February 2, day of Candlemas).

This festival was celebrated only by the saya taxata. In the morning "the mass" took place, i.e., a procession in which the alferez, the alcalde, and a part of the members of the saya took part.

[534]

After remaining several moments in their chapel to say prayers and to perfume the altar with incense, the Indians came out abruptly in a group to form a procession which walked around the church, banners unfurled, to the sound of dance tunes played on the flutes of Pan.

/366 cont./

*796 [562] [889] [932] In this case the alferez was an old woman, wrinkled and respectable, /367/ assisted by her son, a young boy 18 to 20 years old who was a deaf-mute. She led the procession dressed in her most beautiful attire with flowers stuck in her hair.

The procession returned to the chapel to kneel and to perfume again the altar, on which a spot of still fresh blood stood out. The procession broke up shortly afterward, but part of those present accompanied the alfereza and her son, who proceeded with one of the banners from the church up to the door of their hut. There the standard, which the alfereza and her son kissed respectfully, was rolled up and attached to a stake of Cereus.

● [616] The authorities of the saya seated themselves behind a table, and a mantle (talu) was spread out on the ground a certain distance away, on the edge of which the alfereza and her daughter-in-law squatted. They were promptly surrounded by a large number of women who grouped themselves in a horseshoe. A small tablecloth covered with coca leaves was placed on the table, as on the talu.

The alfereza and her son began to pray on their knees before the banner and offered up a libation of alcohol to it; then the young man went to get his wife and repeated the same ceremony with her (Pl. XII, A /see p. 133/). The alcaldes congratulated the alfereza, repeating the sacred formula of suma hora. This rite of politeness accomplished, they went to kiss the post against which the standard had been fastened, and then, taking two wooden cups with two bulls carved on the inside from the table, they offered up a libation of chicha accompanied by a prayer (Pl. XVII, A /see p. 138/).

[415] [2078] On the two sides of the talu behind which the women were seated a very old footless wooden cup, very old, had been placed, from which the women one after the other drank chicha (Pl. XVII, D).

The audience began to chew and to offer up libations. Prayers crossed each other, and in this exchange of vows and

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/374 cont./

*798 *796 [793] The festival ended in general intoxication, of which the court in front of the chapel was in part a witness. The drinking continued practically without interruption until the next day, when the alferez held a feast for 120 people. In spite of the relative dearth of alcohol, the alferez, the Officiant, and his relatives found the means to finally roll on the ground, dead drunk.

Several days later on February 12 (Comadres /Gossips' Thursday, the last Thursday before Shrove-Tuesday/), it was the turn of the Kemperani-mal'ku to receive alcohol and presents. The poor idol did not seem to enjoy much favor, for there were few who came to "acquit themselves," and although the rites were faithfully observed they were carried out rapidly. Several small details that I was able to perceive in the gestures of the Officiant and in the composition of the liquids offered to the mal'ku have been mentioned in the footnote on pages 74 and 75. One fact is worth keeping in mind: when the cone was dripping with blood, those present got up and prostrated themselves in front of it. Some touched it lightly with their fingertips and brought them to their ●[616] lips. The individuals who took part in this festival all belonged to the saya, with the possible exception of the Officiant. The absence of families or of a few representatives at least from taxata *798 *796 539 did not fail to surprise me, as in the prayer addressed to the Kemperani-mal'ku one is given to understand that the east (tuanta) side of the cone which stands on the border of the two saya "looks at" both of them:

Kemperani-mal'ku	porap-ikina	inkiñi	mal'ku lenta
Kemperani-demon	the two behind	who looks	demon border

towantišta	/375/ taxatišta	maitiñi	hasiki
east of	west of	who hearkens	in this moment

porap-ayl'u	kumplatuja	tonxi-ki	towanta	taxata
the two clans	acquit themselves	today	east	west

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/375 cont./

*778 *796 539

tonuǰa	pakˣxal'aiǰtan	kumplataǰa	tonx-tuñi
I have come	heads of livestock with	I acquit myself	today

ǰep	pakˣxal'a	palatansuǰa	ana	inahapa
three	heads of livestock	are planted	not	in vain

Tatal	Mamal	sirwisxapa	hasiki	maitiǰiñakiǰa
Father	Mother	to serve for	in this moment	grant me

t'apa	kumpañǰtan.
all	assembly with.

"Demon Čunkirini, I have come in this hour, to acquit myself towards thee with these animals. I acquit myself today with these three head of livestock who are placed (before thee) — that this be not in vain — /376/ to serve thee, father, mother, in this hour, hearken to me and to all those who accompany me."

*778 *796 In contrast to the previous festival, which took place at the foot of this same cone of earth, a sort of cellar housed at its base was opened this time, and various offerings, half-rotten, and a bottle of alcohol were taken out, the latter of which the Officiant and his helpers piously drank. It is necessary to add that the bottle was then refilled and that fresh magical substances and provisions replaced those which were thrown out.

The Indians used the occasion to go prostrate themselves in front of another cone, a real dwarf beside its congeners, for it was hardly 50 centimeters high. Perhaps this miniature mal'ku is the protector of children, for the corregidor of the tribe offered it a sheep in the name of his three-year-old son.

Prayers to the Kilimento-mal'ku and to the Kosil'awari-mal'ku. The yatiri Anacleto Mullu dictated two more prayers to me, one addressed to the Kilimento-mal'ku and the other to the Kosil'awari-mal'ku. These two cones of earth stand on taxata territory, and their worship is reserved for this saya. I was not able to attend the

[616]

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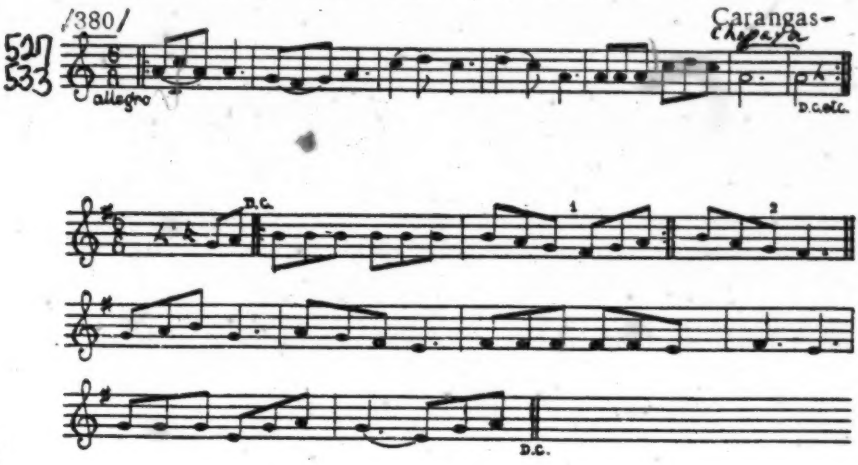
527 535 574 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to everyone. [616] Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527 778 [824] [837] In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527 [533] The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week. At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few [273] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol [54] did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not [171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

/160 cont./

233 Those who prefer to reside in the village go to them[1] at more or less close intervals to take a look at their sheep and pigs or to make their [897] cheeses. The watch over the flocks is usually entrusted to the children from the age of seven or eight. Their parents shift on them [842] the most engrossing work and from this obtain more leisure — from whence comes the ardent desire which all show to have numerous progeny.

[422] [231] Livestock is individual property. Each Indian has about 20 sheep (uša), an indefinite number of pigs (kuči), and several llamas (xwala). Each family recognizes its animals by a special mark cut in the ear.

●[616] Each Indian has the right to let his flocks graze freely on /161/ the pastures belonging to his saya (moiety). No markers mark the boundary, but the Indians know it perfectly and every animal which crosses it is instantaneously slaughtered and eaten by the members of the other saya. In such a case no claim is allowed.

231 233 The shepherds have dogs /paku/, middling in size, with rather long hair and sharp teeth, to guard the flocks. These animals, which are very attached to their masters, can be formidable. I have seen one pursue a llama and kill it in the wink of an eye without its astounded owner having time to intervene.

236 233 [412] Sheep shearing (čipla) takes place at the same time for the whole tribe. The Indians use blades cut out of some old tin can for this operation. When they have finished a festival is organized and all return to the village, dancing and singing and quite tipsy.

233 262 Like all pastoral people the Čipaya are loath to consume the meat of their livestock. They consent to this sacrifice only on the occasion of a public or private festival when they may taste the meat of the animals ritually slaughtered. Only the rich can from time to time allow themselves the luxury of killing a beast of their [231] flock. Even in this case the slaughter of a sheep or pig is accompanied by a certain religious ceremony.

[1] [i.e., to their "water houses" or estancias --Analyst]

/180 cont./

[534] [616] The saya taxata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /181/ /Figure 8 appears here/ /182/ of the Comadres. [198] During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Čipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of post-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed [194] the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Čipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

[237] Trumpets. Čipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Čipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in [196] the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name thoti in Čipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible. So that it would be easier to play on, it has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[Text continues on p. 174]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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metal casting. Some of the pins (tupus) which women use to fasten their clothing at the shoulder, are probably generations old, perhaps having been taken from chullpa graves. All other metal objects are obtained by trade.

Pottery.—Although not now made at Ancoaqui, pottery was formerly produced in simple styles: a plain reddish, round-bodied olla with a narrow neck and handle, and a large, crude hemispherical bowl with a bent-out lip and two loop handles.

Stonework.—Metates, mullers, and hammers made of a round stone lashed with rawhide to a stick, the small hand stones of bolas, and fish-net sinkers are the only objects made of stone.

Woodworking.—Weaving frames, distaffs and spindles, balsa poles, spear handles, hooks for tightening balsa lashings, and a few other articles compose the list of wooden objects. Wood is a valuable substance in this treeless region, procurable only by trade or travel to the yungas.

Musical instruments.—All *Uru* musical instruments are duplicates of those of the *Aymara:* the open-ended flutes (palawatu, kena, pusipia, and kenakena), flageolets (kena mari-macho, koiko, pinkilu, and tarka), double panpipes, i.e., in two graduated rows (siku, siku-choklo), and the drum. No stringed instruments are present except the armadillo-carapace ukelele or charanga.

ECONOMICS

The only *Uru* articles of commerce are dried and salted fish, balsas, and the large totora reed mats which they make for Bolivian cholo huts. They exchange these for frozen and dried potatoes (chuñu), coca, thread to make nets, quinoa, wooden poles, metal objects, and other indispensable goods like medicines and dyes.

The sexual division of labor is simple: men fish, hunt, make and repair nets, and manufacture balsas, mats, musical instruments, and their own tools; women spin and weave llama wool, cook, and make baskets and, formerly, pottery. Women trade all goods except balsas.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Not much remains of pre-Columbian *Uru* social structure, for a scattered and diminishing population has not been able to preserve it functioning. The *Uru* are grouped into ayllus, named Titicana, Konko, Kama, and Kuipa, and their territory is physically divided into nonexogamous moieties: ti achai (corresponding to *Inca* anansaya), and xanacha (*Inca* manansaya). The kinship system is fragmentary, and highly descriptive in its present, perhaps, degenerate form. It is apparently a bilateral system which does not distinguish between paternal and maternal uncle, or aunt, or grandparent. Like

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (maλku) with little individuality (Chunkirini-maλku, Kemperani-maλku, Estewan-maλku), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Llauca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-maλku). The samiri are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (patio-maλku), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the maλkus and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
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paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The maλku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own maλku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant. The cult of the maλku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "sevarics," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the maλku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candies are buried for Pachamama. Khoa, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast celebrated jointly by the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

6: Ruiz and Roca T-3 (ca. 1956) 1957 †SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Urus, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullpería*.[1] The village is divided into two sections called *ayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

[1] *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funereal monument of Peru and Bolivia.

[English text continues on p. 217]

Rubin Carancho J-3 (no date) 1980 EP34 Urn EP34

cause of their origins; the conviction they themselves hold of their own superiority leads them to treat the Aymara haughtily and proudly. Nevertheless, commercial exchange is carried on between the two groups, and all Chipayans speak Aymara as a second language, although they speak Uru among themselves.

Only a prodigy of work and skill has enabled the Chipayus to survive in this bleak land—"the barren and desolate plain on which we live," as one man bitterly described it. Lacking trees and even soil suitable for making sundried brick, they build their houses of sods hacked from the plain, piling them in a circular beehive shape, sometimes all the way to the peak, sometimes making a thatched roof of arched bundles of a shrub called tola. The doorways face east. Usually the only article of furniture is a wooden table, used only for household ceremonies. Very heavy wooden blankets serve as beds, as they did in pre-Columbian days throughout the Andes. Today a few families sleep on low earth benches of the kind other Andean Indians have long made in imitation of Spanish beds.

The Chipayus are shepherds, raising llamas, sheep, and pigs. Like many others who tend flocks, they dislike to kill their animals for food, and subsist mainly on potatoes

Chipayus blowing their flutes on festival day

and quinoa, supplemented by the wild tubers they gather, an occasional vicuña, and sheep's-milk cheese, which is also their chief commercial product. In characteristic Andean fashion, the potatoes are allowed to freeze and dry and are then ground into chuño flour.

Land ownership in the village continues in the pattern of what has been called Inca communism. The people are divided into two rival hereditary groups or moieties, and the members of each group have joint ownership of their pastures. The cultivated lands are divided into strips of thirty by nine hundred feet that are reassigned each year

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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they are, Titicana, Konko, Kama, Kuipa. The group is also divided into two moities: anan-saya and mana-saya; their Uru names are ti ačai; xanaša. They may be translated by their Aymara equivalents: "upper section" and "lower section." 616

Posnansky adds information for the Uru of Iruitu:

In the village of Iruitu may be noted—although somewhat blurred at the present time, as with the "markas" of the Aymara—the typical division into *Anansaya* and *Urinsaya* (*Manansaya* and *Arasaya*) which they call *Manko* and *Arrojo*. However, the real *Manansaya* for them is the *Titicano-Tojso*, where the Aymaras live, to the east, in the high and mountainous lands. The expression *tojso* has in their language the meaning "man of the *tierra firme*" (tierra seca).[37]

Kinship System. I collected the following kinship system at Ancoaqui: 601

father = apai	mother = ataloi
brother = čičai	sister = ǩaiyo
son = ampouwa	daughter = tukunwau-us
husband = lukwawa	wife = tukunwawa
older brother = tuskačič	older sister = kustaǩnai
middle brother = moračič	middle sister = moranai
younger brother = ačkačiǩ	younger sister = ačknai
father of father = texsapačani, ťapsapačai	father of mother = tatale-ep
mother of father = apsma	mother of mother = [t]ata-lama, apsma
father of wife = ačičai	father of husband = texsapa
mother of wife = tatalama	mother of husband = ťapsma
brother of wife = atalačiˈči	brother of husband = čičai
sister of wife = senai	sister of husband = čipˈi
brother of father = sičisč, tululu	brother of mother = sičisč
sister of father = nai	sister of mother = nai
cousin (male) = [us]tululu, čuktululu	cousin (female) = malaqo
brother-in-law = wasi	sister-in-law = nai
husband of sister = tisunsmataluku	
son-in-law = wasi	daughter-in-law = wasi
son of son = alči [?Aymara], karwa	daughter of son = tukun-alči
son of daughter = učusa	daughter of daughter = usasu
son of brother = tičič-suwa	daughter of brother = tičičimatˈ
son of sister = tičičsuwa	daughter of sister = tičipamat.

male baby, little boy = uč-čon-čula, učusa, uǩala; little boy = uč usa; boy = usa; youth = čauk usa; young man = towi, tou; man (homo) šoñi; (vir) tosa.

[37] Métraux (JSAP 27), p. 87. Cf. *idem* (JSAP 27), pp. 91, 100, 107. Posnansky, *op. cit.* p. 70.